

Message Text

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S E C R E T USNATO 3312

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, TU, MARR

SUBJECT: TURKISH NOTE RE U.S. MILITARY FACILITIES: SOME U.S. OPTIONS

RE: ANKARA 4702

B. USNATO 2321

C. USNATO 3238

SUMMARY: AS A CONTRIBUTION TO WASHINGTON PLANNING IN RESPONSE TO THE
TURKISH NOTE TO US MILITARY FACILITIES (REF A), WE PROVIDE BELOW OUR IN-

ITIAL VIEWS ON POSSIBLE WAYS IN WHICH TO ENGAGE NATO AND THE ALLIES
IN SUPPORT OF US OBJECTIVES. THE COMMON THRUST OF OUR RECOMMENDATIONS
ENTAILS EMPHASIS ON THE IMMEDIATE AND SUBSTANTIAL ADVERSE SECURITY
CONSEQUENCES FOR THE ALLIANCE ATTENDANT TO CONTRACTION OR SUSPENSION
OF IMPORTANT US DEFENSE ACTIVITIES IN TURKEY. END SUMMARY

1. ASSUMPTIONS: THE FOLLOWING GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS UNDERLIE OUR
PROPOSED APPROACHES:

A. WE ASSUME THAT CHIEF US OBJECTIVES ARE:

(I) TO HALT OF SLOW TURKISH ACTIONS THAT WOULD DENY OR DIMINISH
US DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS IN TURKEY; AND AT THE SAME TIME

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(II) TO DEMONSTRATE TO CONGRESS THE GRAVITY OF THE
CONSEQUENCES FOR ALL ALLIES OF CHANGES IN THE US DEFENSE POSTURE IN
TURKEY FOLLOWING THE CONTINUED CUTOFF OF MILITARY AID TO TURKEY.

B. THE STEPS WHICH TURKEY HAS TAKEN ARE IN ALMOST NO WAY ANALAGOUS TO THE PATH WHICH GREECE IS FOLLOWING. NEVERTHELESS, BOTH CASES ARE SIMILAR IN THAT ONLY LIMITED BILATERAL STEPS CAN BE TAKEN BEFORE THE MULTILATERAL RELATIONSHIP BECOMES INEXTRICABLY AND DETRIMENTALLY INVOLVED.

C. BY ITS ACTION APRIL 25 (REF B) IN INSTIGATING DPC CONSIDERATION OF MEASURES TO ADDRESS TURKISH AND ALLIANCE DEFENSE SHORTCOMINGS ARISING FROM GREECE'S WITHDRAWAL FROM THE NATO MILITARY STRUCTURE, TURKEY RECOGNIZED THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS. SINCE TURKEY ITSELF HAS ARGUED THAT MEASURES ADVERSELY AFFECTING ONE ALLY ADVERSELY AFFECT THE ALLIANCE, THIS GIVES US AN ARGUMENT TO USE AGAINST THE TURKS AS WELL AS TO ATTRACT SUPPORT AMONG THE ALLIES FOR BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL STEPS THAT MAY HELP INHIBIT THE TURKS.

2. POSSIBLE US STEPS: AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, WE SUGGEST THAT THE US COULD:

A. ENCOURAGE SYG LUNS OR SACEUR, OR BOTH, TO VISIT ANKARA IMMEDIATELY FOR VISIBLE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE GOT ON THE CONSEQUENCES FOR NATO OF THE TURKISH DECISION. LUNS WILL ARRIVE IN WASHINGTON ON JUNE 17 AND DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO EXPLORE THIS POSSIBILITY WITH HIM.

B. CALL FOR IMMEDIATE CONSULTATIONS IN NATO ON THE IMPACT ON THE ALLIANCE OF THE DENIAL OF US FACILITIES IN TURKEY AS WELL AS THE POTENTIAL CONSEQUENCES OF RESTRICTIONS ON THEIR USE. THESE COULD TAKE PLACE IN NAC, IN ORDER TO SEEK TO ELICIT FRENCH SUPPORT, OR IN THE DPC.

C. AMONG OBJECTIVES OF SUCH CONSULTATIONS, PROPOSE THAT NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES TO PROVIDE A MILITARY ASSESSMENT OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF TURKISH ACTIONS.

D. ASK FOR INCLUSION IN NAC/DPC DISCUSSION THE ISSUE OF GUIDANCE FOR USE BY THE NATO PRESS SPOKESMAN IN DESCRIBING
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CONSULTATIONS ON CONSEQUENCES FOR THE ALLIANCE OF RESTRICTIONS ON US USE OF MILITARY FACILITIES IN TURKEY. THIS MIGHT ENCOUNTER TURKISH OPPOSITION, BUT IF THE NATO SPOKESMAN WERE ABLE TO REPORT THAT CONSULTATIONS WERE IN PROGRESS IN NATO, IT COULD REVERBERATE USEFULLY IN CAPITALS INCLUDING WASHINGTON.

3. UNDERTAKE BILATERAL APPROACHES IN NATO CAPITALS TO (1) INFORM THE ALLIES OF OUR ESTIMATES OF THE MILITARY IMPACT, AND (2) ENCOURAGE THEM TO DRAW TURKISH ATTENTION IN BILATERAL CHANNELS TO MUTUAL SECURITY CONSEQUENCES AND TO STATE PUBLICLY THE ADVERSE IMPACT OF THE AID CUT-OFF, NOT ONLY ON TURKEY BUT ON THE SECURITY OF ALLIES AS WELL.

3. TWO ADDITIONAL POINTS:

A. IF WASHINGTON IS CONSIDERING MAKING US COMMUNICATIONS FACILITIES AVAILABLE TO TURKEY IN ORDER TO ALLEVIATE PROBLEMS ARISING FROM GREECE'S WITHDRAWAL FROM THE NATO INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCUTRE (REF C AND PREVIOUS) IT MAY BE USEFUL NOW TO POINT OUT TO THE TURKS THAT THE US IS CONSIDERING ALTERNATIVE COMMUNICATIONS ARRANGENEMTS, BUT CANNOT PROCEED IF US FACILITIES IN TURKEY ARE IN JEOPARDY.

B. FINALLY, WE NOTE THAT USCINCEUR'S ASSESSMENT OF THE EFFECT OF THE AID CUT-OFF TO TURKEY (USCINCEUR ECCS 3493 DTG 191610Z FEB 75) ANTICIPATES SERIOUS DEGRADATIONS IN TURKISH FORCES AFTER 180 DAYS, OR BY ABOUT MID-AUGUST. LEAVINNG THE CYPRUS AND US BASES ISSUES ASIDE, IT MAY BE USEFUL TO REMIND CONGRESS AGAIN, IF THIS HAS NOT ALREADY BEEN DONE, THAT TURKEY IS FAST APPROACHING THE POINT WHERE IT CAN CONTRIBUTE ONLY marginally to NATO DEFENSE ON THE SOUTHEASTERN FLANK.

4. DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS SECDEF, USCINCEUR, USDOCOSOUTH, AND USNMR SHAPE.

5. DEPARTMENT ALSO PLEASE PASS AMBASSADOR BRUCE AT SACLANT SYMPOSIUM AT U.S. NAVAL ACADEMY, ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND.
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